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SOVIET, EAST GERMAN AND CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN FOMENTING TERRORISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

REPORT

OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SECURITY AND TERRORISM

TO THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C., September 17, 1982.

Hon. STROM THURMOND,
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism has completed its inquiry into Soviet, East German, and Cuban involvement in fomenting terrorism in southern Africa. The record of the hearings, which lasted 5 days, details the scope of the role in the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, and Cuba in instigating acts of terrorism, as well as in recruiting, supplying, training, and directing terrorist cadre.

The record, which is very extensive, also includes an addendum of documents and photographs, which in my view will provide a much needed balance to the information now on the public record regarding the South West African People's Organization and the African National Congress. It explains the extent to which the Soviet Union and its proxies are involved with these so-called "national liberation movements."

This report, which I am submitting, highlights not only aspects of the testimony, but also documents, with excerpts from the current literature, the longstanding Soviet connections with and commitment to these organizations.

Moreover, the information is particularly instructive since SWAPO is presently being touted as the sole legitimate political force in Namibia. Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua, and Iran are glaring reminders of our failure to fully comprehend and appreciate the motives and interrelationships of those who sought political power under the guise of national liberation. These situations also serve as graphic examples of the terrible price which others have paid for our previous mistakes.

I feel that a review and analysis of the material which has been compiled will be of substantial assistance to those who desire to have a fuller understanding of the part that the Soviet Union and its proxy states play in international terrorism and national liberation movements such as SWAPO and the ANC.

Sincerely,

JEREMIAH DENTON,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism.

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CHAIRMAN'S REPORT: SOVIET, EAST GERMAN AND CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN FOMENTING TERRORISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

In an important policy address to the American Legion in Honolulu on August 29, 1981, Assistant Secretary of State (for African Affairs) Chester Crocker described southern Africa as a "key region" requiring a carefully considered and sophisticated policy in order to advance U.S. interests. Dr. Crocker advanced three reasons for this judgment.

First. U.S. economic interests in sub-Saharan Africa are heavily concentrated in the southern third of the continent. Nearly $3 billion of direct investment, or about 60 percent of the sub-Saharan totals, is located there. Our southern African trade totals over $6 billion. This concentration of our interests reflects southern Africa's tremendous mineral wealth and the relative sophistication of the area's economies—especially those of South Africa and Zimbabwe. Southern Africa accounts for over 40 percent of sub-Saharan Africa's GNP, 70 percent of its industrial and 60 percent of its mining output, 80 percent of the steel and 85 percent of the electricity consumed. The area contains immense deposits of many strategic minerals which are vital to industrial economies like ours, including: The platinum group (86 percent of world reserves), manganese (53 percent), vanadium (64 percent), chromium (95 percent), and cobalt (52 percent) as well as a dominant share of world gold and diamond output and internationally significant output of coal, uranium, copper, and other minerals. Many of these minerals are vital to Western defense and high technology industries * * *.

Second. A second reality is that southern Africa is an increasingly contested area in global politics. The worldwide significance of the region derives from its potential—unless nations of the area can find a basis to resolve outstanding conflicts and coexist—to become a cockpit of mounting East-West tension. Despite the ending of the drawn-out struggle in Rhodesia and the successful transition to independent Zimbabwe, there remains a combination of local and external pressures that could lead to expanded conflict and polarization. Since Portugal's departure from its ex-colonies in 1975, the U.S.S.R. and its clients have shown every interest in keeping the pot of regional conflicts boiling. Six years after Angolia's independence, substantial Cuban combat forces plus Soviet advisers remain there, as participants in a still unresolved and tragic civil war.

This external factor inevitably shapes the calculations of Angola's neighbors. Warsaw Pact countries have arms agreements with four nations of the area and provide the bulk of external military support to guerilla groups aimed at Namibia and South Africa. Faced with large scale foreign intervention, the pressure of African guerilla groups, and strains in its relations with its traditional Western partners, South Africa has significantly expanded its defense potential in recent years. The republic, through a sustained self-sufficiency drive, is now an important regional military power. It has clearly signaled its determination to resist guerilla encroachments and strike at countries giving sanctuary.

Let us make no mistake. This is an explosive combination. The potential damage to Western interests is enhanced by southern Africa's geopolitical importance along the strategic sea routes around Africa and by its growing importance as a source of critical minerals. It is imperative that we play our proper role in fostering the region's security and countering the expansion of Soviet influence. We intend to do so by building the confidence necessary for equitable

and durable solutions to conflicts and by encouraging the emergence and survival of genuine democratic systems and productive economies. We will not lend our voice to support those dedicated to seizing and holding power through violence. If the peoples of southern Africa are to have the chance to build their own futures, it is essential that military force not become established as the arbiter of relations between states or the means of effecting needed political change. In this respect, southern Africa could become a crucial arena for defining the rules of international conduct in the decade ahead.

Third. The third reality is that southern Africa is a highly complex arena which must be understood on its own regional merits if we are to succeed in our efforts. There are powerful linkages—transport systems, labor migration, electric power grids, flows of capital and expertise, active and vital trade ties—that bind together the states of southern Africa. Interdependence is reinforced by the presence in the region of six landlocked states. Economic pragmatism is strengthened by the many nearby examples of negative growth rates and falling living standards. But there are also deep-rooted sources of conflict within the region itself. The political basis for regional cooperation is strikingly absent. The racial and ethnic pluralism of these societies—and the raw emotions generated by colonialism and white minority rule—make it difficult for them to come to terms with themselves and their neighbors.

Almost 1 year earlier, in September 1980, Alexander Haig, in his capacity as President and Chief Executive Officer of the United Technologies Corporation, had appeared before the Subcommittee on Mines and Mining of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in the House of Representatives. In his testimony, General Haig said:

The United States is inordinately and increasingly dependent on foreign sources of supply for many of the raw materials critical to our defense and our economy * * *

Should future trends, especially in Southern Africa, result in alignment with Moscow of this critical resource area, then the USSR will control as much as 90 percent of several key minerals for which no substitutes have been developed, and the loss of which could bring the severest consequences to the existing economic and security framework of the free world.

As one assesses the step up of Soviet proxy activity in the third world—in Angola, Ethiopia, Southern Yemen, North Yemen, Southeast Asia, Central America and the Caribbean, and the December 1979, unprecedented invasion of Afghanistan by regular Soviet forces—then one can only conclude that the era of the resource war has arrived. (Emphasis added)

It was with these considerations in mind that the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism commenced an investigation of the role of the Soviet Union, directly and through its surrogates in Cuba and East Germany, in fomenting and promoting terrorism in southern Africa.

At the first hearing in April 1981, entitled "Terrorism: Origins, Direction and Support," when the subcommittee undertook its initial examination of international terrorism and, at every hearing thereafter, there was recurring evidence that the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Cuba actively and often successfully seek, under the overall control of the Politburo in Moscow, to utilize, infiltrate, and manipulate so-called "national liberation movements" around the world We heard repeated references to the activities of the Soviet Union and Cuba in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Yemen and elsewhere.

In hearings entitled "Historical Antecedents of Soviet Terrorism" and "Terrorism: The Role of Moscow and Its Subcontractors" held in June 1981 on the use of terrorism as a political instrument by Moscow and its subcontractors, additional information was developed on the extent of the Soviet Union's commitment to the use of terrorism and armed revolution to achieve its goal of Communist world domination.

Shortly before the southern Africa hearings, in February and March 1982, the subcommittee concluded 4 days of hearings on Cuba and its worldwide involvement in terrorist activities. These hearings underscored the involvement of the Soviet Union in southern Africa and in Latin America, as well as Cuba's able execution of its role as Moscow's surrogate.

Because of the economic and strategic importance of southern Africa to the United States and the free world, we concluded that the subcommittee should turn its attention to the Soviet, Cuban, and East German involvement in the terrorist activities of the so-called "national liberation movements" in southern Africa. In reaching this conclusion, account was taken of the fact that many journalists and other opinion leaders throughout the world are frequently reluctant to admit or even discuss the extent of Communist involvement in, and control of southern African "national liberation movements." But motivated by the conviction that African blacks, as well as whites, have suffered, are presently suffering, will continue to suffer if Communist movements expand or triumph in that region, and mindful of the impact on American interests of such a development, the subcommittee proceeded with the hearings.

Preparation for the hearings commenced with a study by the subcommittee staff on the origins and development of the major "national liberation movements" in southern Africa and on Soviet doctrine and ideological theory pertaining to such movements. Much of the material uncovered is contained in the next three sections of this report entitled "The ANC," "SWAPO," and "Soviet Ideological Theory."

On the basis of this preliminary study, it was decided to focus the subcommittee's further inquiry primarily on two organizations, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). It was further decided that members of the subcommittee staff should visit southern Africa in January 1982 for discussions with U.S. Embassy personnel, South African and Namibian security officials, academics and, if possible, members or former members of the ANC and SWAPO.

On the staff's return from southern Africa it was clear that a great quantity of evidence was indeed available to demonstrate the validity of the allegations that the Soviet Union had successfully penetrated and, in large measure, taken over the control of the ANC and SWAPO. A series of five hearings was therefore scheduled for March 22, 24, 25, 29, and 31, 1982, to enable the subcommittee to hear testimony from the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs; a Sovietologist who has made a particular study of Soviet goals and strategies in Africa; four former members of the ANC, one of whom served on the National Executive Committee of the ANC at the same time he was a member of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party; and four former members of SWAPO, including two of its founders, Mr. Andreas Shipanga and Advocate J. Kozonguizi.

The subcommittee also extended invitations to the presidents of SWAPO and the ANC to testify. Mr. Nujoma of SWAPO did not respond at all and the head of the ANC Observer Missions at the United Nations in New York simply advised the chairman of the sub-

committee that the invitation had been relayed to ANC headquarters for a decision.

A former member of the Mozambiquean Air Force, Lt. Adriano Bomba, who had decided to defect to South Africa in 1981 as a result of his disillusionment over the impact of the Marxist-Leninist policies applied by the FRELIMO government in Mozambique, was also invited to testify before the subcommittee. It was felt that the experiences of someone who had witnessed the transition of FRELIMO from a Soviet-sponsored "national liberation movement" to a formally constituted Marxist-Leninist party would convey a perspective of some importance. This proved to be the case.

The ANC

The African National Congress of South Africa was founded in Bloemfontein in the then Union of Southern Africa on January 8, 1912. Roland Stanbridge, a researcher at the Scandanavian Institute of African Studies in Uppsala, Sweden, describes its creation as follows:

> When Britain handed political power in South Africa over to the privileged white minority in 1910, Africans throughout the country were faced with the need to unite to protect their rights. A prominent Zulu lawyer, Dr. Pixley ka Izaka Seme, declared in 1922: "The demon of racialism, the aberrations of Xhosa-Fingo feuds, the animosity that exists between the Zulu and the Tongas, between the Basuto and every other native, must be buried and forgotten * * * We are one people." Other overseas-trained professional men took up the call, and on January 8, 1912, the founding conference of the ANC (at first called the Native National Congress) opened in Bloemfontein. Its purpose, as set forth in Seme's opening address, was to "find ways and means of forming one national union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges." [1]

Jordan K. Ngubane has commented as follows about the political goals of the founders of the ANC:

> After lengthy and careful deliberation, the delegates agreed to unite their peoples for the purpose of projecting them into the future as a new politico-cultural community. They were no longer to be narrowly Zulu or Xosa or Satu; they were going to be the African people. Their unity was designed to extend the area of liberty; to give to citizenship the same meaning on both sides of the color line, and not to drive the Indian, colored, or white man into the sea. Thirdly, the delegates regarded the violation of human rights by the Union Government's race policy as a matter that concerned humanity as a whole. They rejected the contention that it was a domestic South African matter.[2]

However politically provocative the goals of the ANC may have appeared in the context of the colonial system in South Africa in 1912, there is little doubt that the people of the United States would have no hesitation in identifying with these objectives today.

Stanbridge observes that in the aftermath of several decades of largely unsuccessful petitioning of successive Union governments by the ANC in support of (black) African rights:

> By the end of World War II, closer cooperation began to develop between the forces opposed to the White government. In 1944–45 there was a widespread ANC–CP anti-pass campaign which did much to renew widespread support for the ANC. Close fraternal relations developed between the ANC and CP (South African Communist Party) and today the two organizations continue to work

[1] "Contemporary African Political Organizations and Movements." Roland Stanbridge, in "The Apartheid Regime," ed. Robert M. Price and Carl G. Rosberg.
[2] "An African Explains Apartheid," Jordon K. Ngubane, Praeger, New York.

together intimately. In May 1945, when the Allied victory over Nazi Germany was celebrated, the biggest gathering ever seen in Johannesburg met under the combined auspices of the ANC, the CP, and the trade unions.

After the electoral victory of the National Party of South Africa in 1948, the Government commenced the implementation of the policy of apartheid or separation of races. Standbridge notes:

During this period, increasing closer links were established between the trade unions, the ANC, and the CP. In 1950 a mass rally was held in Durban under the auspices of the ANC, the SAIC, the CP, and the African People's Organization (an organization of Colored people later replaced by the South African Colored People's Organization—SACPO). This was the first time all these organizations had come together to voice their opposition to the racial policies of the government and the bannings of Black leaders.

The South African Communist Party, which had come into existence in July 1921 as a result of white members of the Industrial Socialist League and the International Socialist League joining forces, was declared a prohibited organization by the South African Government in the Internal Security Act of 1950. On June 24, 1950, the Communist Party dissolved itself and core members went underground to continue its activities.

Some years earlier, a group of young ANC nationalists had created a youth league. Stanbridge states:

In 1943 a group of young nationalist-minded intellectuals formed a Youth League (ANCYL) in the ANC. They propounded a policy of fighting for African independence, freedom from domination by other national groups, and the establishment of an African nation. An important dimension of the Youth League outlook was the insistence that the ANC should cease merely making representations to a stubborn government and should engage in more militant action. It rejected the language of supplication of the ANC leadership. The Constitution of the ANCYL declared its aims to be: To arouse and encourage national consciousness and unity among African youth and to assist, support and reinforce the African National people. Though the ANC had not managed to regain its initial mass following, the Youth League soon attracted increasingly greater support.

In a chapter entitled "African Nationalism Sabotaged," Mr. Ngubane explains:

As soon as the (Second World) war was over, the (Youth) League intensified its pressure for a definite stand against race oppression. Although the resistance movement of 1951 was launched in time, the long debates which preceded this demonstration are perhaps more interesting, for the Youth Leaguers regarded the campaign primarily as a tactical move to train the African masses in the use of peaceful collective action. Some of them selected this weapon for reasons of principle, but others said that expediency had decided the issue for them. At first, the Communists dismissed the idea of a nonviolent demonstration; but when it became clear that African opinion supported the resistence campaign, the line changed. They were heart and soul for a Gandhian campaign. In the meantime, they had worked hard behind the scenes to create a coordinating committee representing all the organizations behind the campaign. The acceptance of equal representation on it by the Johannesburg Youth Leaguers, who were coming increasingly under the influence of the Communist leader, Dr. Yussuf Dadoo, imposed severe strains inside the League. After the campaign, however, Communist pressure on Youth League unity was intensified. Walter Sisulu, Duma Nokwe, and other Youth Leaguers visited Iron Curtain countries—with disastrous effects on Youth League unity. The consequent tensions led finally to the capture of the League by the Communists. And that was its end.

After the resistance movement, Communist policy stressed the need for action against race oppression rather than subversion of state authority. The idea was to stage dramatic stunts designed to administer continuous and indecisive shocks to the economy of the land in order to keep it in a state of chronic malaise. Antipass campaigns, boycotts, and mass demonstrations ensued. One of the most

famous and best organized of the latter was the secret trip of 20,000 women to Pretoria, without the knowledge of the police, to protest against race oppression. They demanded an interview with the Prime Minister, J. G. Strijdom, who found it convenient to remain securely behind barred and guarded doors. In all such protests, the idea was not to shock the government into making concessions—no Communist would be so naive—but to impair the health of the country's economy.

These demonstrations were all said to have been organized by the Congress Movement. People who sat in the inner councils of this alliance stated privately that the ANC tended to accept instructions rather than to participate decisively in the formulation of policies. Dr. Wilson Conco, who was for a long time Luthuli's deputy in the ANC, presided over the Kliptown gathering, in 1955, which produced the Freedom Charter; but, on his return, he said he had seen the document for the first time at the conference. And Luthuli himself had not known who had drafted the charter. The coordinating committee of the alliance was, as a matter of fact, not the real originator of policy. The bosses of the underground Communist Party did the planning and made policy decisions. They approached men like Luthuli and other non-Communist leaders merely, in actual practice, to acquaint them with what had already been decided. One example will illustrate this point. Just before he went to the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian nations, Moses Kotone—the former Secretary-General of the Communist Party—traveled from Johannesburg to Groutville to inform Luthuli that he too was attending the conference. The latter, a key member of the ANC, was in no position to approve or disapprove; Kotane had come merely to inform him.

This remote control of the ANC was facilitated by the bans on Luthuli. The government had forbidden him to move outside the boundaries of his magisterial district. His head office was in distant Johannesburg. The Communists had successfully resisted pressure to transfer the head office to Durban, which was only about forty-eight miles from where Luthuli lived. Johannesburg did not keep him as well informed on developments as they should have done * * *.

This was not just a piece of bungling. The withholding of vital information from Luthuli was part of the plan to destroy, whenever necessary, any African leader who was not completely under the control of the Communists. And there was an important complement to this plan of subtle destruction. The South African Congress of Trade Unions was one of the members of the Congress Movement. Unlike the other four allies, it was mixed racially, although the Africans were, of course, in the majority. African members of SACTU were uncouraged to join the ANC and vice versa: Moses Mabhida was the Communist-sponsored chief of SACTU, and Luthuli led the ANC. Under this arrangement, the African member was deliberately given a dual loyalty and leadership as a precaution against Luthuli's defecting one day. If he were to do that, Mabhida would assert himself as SACTU leader against Luthuli. Since Mabhida was always with the workers, he stood a better chance of pulling a very substantial section of them in any showdown with Luthuli. And in any crisis not involving Luthuli, he could easily be upheld as the leader of the Africans.

It was all part of a complicated plan to reduce Luthuli to the position of an impotent prisoner of the Communists. Locked up as he virtually was in Groutville, he was not free to make any impact on outside opinion. In the meantime, the Communist press was taking advantage of every conceivable opportunity to boost Mabhida. Therefore, the type of leadership the Youth League had tried to establish was being subtly undermined and African nationalism sabotaged.

The treason trial started shortly after Sisulu had returned from Moscow and Peking. The trip to Bucharest, Moscow and Peking by prominent ANC leaders had been clever moves to commit the organization by implication. Luthuli might argue that he and his movement were not Communist; but if his right-hand man could go to Iron Curtain capitals without his knowledge, the world would ask Luthuli who was the real boss of the ANC. If he said, as he did, that he did not know who had paid for these costly trips—his treasurer was saying publicly that the ANC was in the red financially—then it would be clear he was no longer boss. In the event of a showdown, he would not have enough world support to embarrass the Communists.

The government felt it was time to strike at the leadership of the Congress Movement. With characteristic maladroitness, it locked up the Communists and non-Communist leaders of the Movement, together with a few anti-Communists outside of the Congress. In evidence presented during the trial, it became increasingly clear that Luthuli did not have a real hand in formulating policy

for the Congress Movement; therefore, the charge against him and some of his more immediate supporters was dropped. After nearly five years, the government case collapsed, and the accused were once again free men. In short, the trips to Iron Curtain capitals had forced the government to show its hand, for it was going to act ruthlessly against all who challenged or opposed apartheid, regardless of whether or not they were Communists. And the same rule applied to the bannings.

In 1958, the African nationalist faction in the ANC, unwilling to tolerate manipulation by the South African Communist Party any longer, broke away and founded the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). This militant—and anti-Communist—movement's credo was "* * * government of the Africans by the Africans with everybody who owes his only loyalty to Africa and is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African."

After a series of demonstrations by the PAC and clashes with the police culminating in the events at Sharpville and Langa on March 21, 1960, in which 69 Africans were killed and 178 wounded, and the state of emergency proclaimed by the South African Governor-General after a countrywide strike had been called by the ANC on March 26, 1960, the South African Parliament passed the Unlawful Organizations Act on April 8, 1960, banning both the ANC and the PAC. These organizations thereafter created separate terrorist and guerrilla wings, Umkhonto We Sizwe ("the Spear of the Nation") and Poqo ("Pure"—implying a purely Africa—that is, non-Communist—character) and commenced campaigns of sabotage and terrorism which led the South African Government to adopt increasingly harsh security measures in an effort to stamp out the violence.

As nothing which the subcommittee staff unearthed before the hearings suggested infiltration of the PAC by the Soviet Union—although there is some evidence of support by The People's Republic of China—no further inquiry was made into the current activities of that organization. Recent publicized developments, particularly in 1975 and 1976, however, suggested that the ANC was still dominated by the South African Communist Party. Stanbridge states:

In 1969 the ANC held an important conference at Morogoro (Tanzania), where it was decided to set up a Revolutionary Council charged with mobilizing and accelerating the struggle within South Africa. Another major decision was to expand the ANC by drawing into it all South African revolutionary elements irrespective of their racial origin. This decision, which is still effective, caused serious divisions within the organization. These came to a head in 1975, when an ANC leader, Ambrose Makiwane, charged that "The trouble the African people have at present is that our strategy and tactics are in the hands of, and dominated by, a small clique of non-Africans." He blamed this on "the disastrous Morogoro Consultative Conference which opened ANC membership to non-Africans." Makiwane and seven others were expelled from the ANC. These expellees then made public their disagreements with the ANC leadership in an extensive memorandum released in London on December 11, 1975. They complained that there was an absence of democratic consultation within the organization, that the traditional ANC policies and ideology had been diluted, and that the SACP, whose leaders were White, had effective control of the ANC.

SWAPO

The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) was created in June 1960. Its origins, however, go back to the Ovambo People's Congress founded in Cape Town among Ovambo workers—and some few Hereros—in 1957. Among those most prominent in its

creation were Herman Toivo, Andreas Shipanga, Solomon Mifinawe, Emil Appolus and Jariretundo Kozonguizi. Duignan and Gann [3] comment:

It derived its main support from the Ovambo and from educated people—teachers, nurses, students, even ministers of religion. SWAPO professed to unite all ethnic communities into a single Namibian nation. An estimated 90 percent of its membership derived from the Ovambo people; some of the leaders, however, were Herero. Only a handful of whites have been admitted to membership, and these were subjected to stringent tests.

Another author, Dr. Jeffrey B. Gayner [4] of the Heritage Foundation, noted further:

In 1959 Toivo changed the name of the organization to the Ovambo People's Organization and was joined at that time by Sam Nujoma and Mburumba Kerina (who is half Herero and half Ovambo). They received assistance from the Liberal Party and Communist Party in South Africa. With the rise of personal, philosophical, and tribal differences that so frequently have plagued SWAPO and Namibia, the Herero broke off from the organization in 1959 to form the South West African National Union (SWANU) in Windhoek. In order to confront the appearance of the narrowing of the ethnic base of the party, the Ovambo People's Organization became the South West Africa People's Organization or SWAPO. But the broader name, intended to attract territory-wide base of support, never effectively changed the Ovambo structure of the party; but it undoubtedly assisted the organization, in later obtaining international recognition, as being representative of all people in Namibia. This assisted Kerina who since 1956 had attempted to argue on behalf of the people of Namibia before the United Nations. In the early years of SWAPO a form of collegial rule developed in the organization as Toivo remained in charge in Africa, Kerina in New York, and Shipanga, Nujoma and others operating in important but subordinate roles.

During this formative period, the group advocated nonviolence, but by 1962 the decision had apparently been made to begin a campaign of guerrilla warfare and sabotage in Namibia. Training facilities for SWAPO guerrillas were made available by the Soviet Union, China, Algeria, Ghana, and Tanzania. Of the initial leaders only Shipanga apparently embraced Marxism, but soon Soviet support for SWAPO acquired strong ideological tones among the members. Initial guerrilla activities began in Namibia in 1965, and, following the dismissal of the Namibian case before the International Court of Justice in July 1966, SWAPO decided to step up its campaign. In 1966 Toivo took personal leadership of the ill-faced guerrilla campaign in Namibia. The South African authorities easily overpowered this initial effort and captured Toivo who was convicted and sentenced to prison on Robben Island near Cape Town where he remains today.

Following the arrest of Toivo, Kerina had Sam Nujoma appointed as the first President of SWAPO; Toivo had been chairman of the group and some still recognize him as the real leader. By the time leadership passed to Nujoma, division increasingly characterized SWAPO with both external and internal splits developing * * *.

According to Duignan and Gann:

SWAPO was not a single organization. It had the external wing which carried on the "war of national liberation," and the internal wing which involved itself in peaceful political activities. "SWAPO Internal" was less radical than the exile organization—to survive, organize, and hold meetings it had to be. A substantial part of SWAPO's internal strength derived from church members, workers, and intellectuals who looked to radical social reform, and sometimes to a 'theology of liberation'. Other less sophisticated adherents proclaimed their allegiance to the party because they saw it as an anti-white body, and because a SWAPO label seems to indicate opposition to the status quo. "SWAPO Internal"

[3] "South West Africa-Namibia," Peter Duignan and L. H. Gann, American African Affairs Association Inc., 1978.
[4] "Namibia: The Road to Self-Government," Jeffrey B. Gayner, Council on American Affairs, 1979.

was by no means united. It contained at least three factions—the Ovambo group in the north, a southern faction made up of moderates, and a younger radical group—the Youth League—which called for a militant revolutionary movement to take charge of Namibia.

"SWAPO External" was an equally divided body. At the time of writing,[8] its headquarters were in Lusaka, with additional offices in Luanda, New York, London, Zamalek-Cairo, Hydra (Algiers), and Dakar. "SWAPO External" was led by men who had left Namibia in the early 1960's; they clearly were away too long to know what was happening inside their country. A split between the external and internal wings seemed obvious although it has been averted so far by the control exerted over the purse strings by the external group. The latter was recognized worldwide for its diplomatic and military struggles. Both wings of SWAPO refused to participate in the Turnhalle conference, and to date they declined to participate in a new plan advocated by the West. But there were obvious disagreements between those who had to live under a South Africa-dominated Namibia and those who, from the outside, carried on a guerrilla war. "SWAPO Internal," for example had belonged to the Namibia National Convention (NNC), but "SWAPO External" would not join the NNC, claiming it alone could speak for Namibia. Similarly, "SWAPO External" continued to oppose cooperation with South Africa in implementing the West's initiative, yet "SWAPO Internal" could not be happy with this intransigence. It could mean that Namibia would become independent without SWAPO.

Other difficulties faced "SWAPO External." A number of the exiles, disillusioned by the party's leadership abroad, returned to Namibia. These included such men as Jackson Kambode, formerly secretary of SWAPO's trade union organization, Silas Shikongo, a guerrilla leader, and above all, Mburumba Kerina, a cofounder of SWAPO. Other exiles broke with the party's official leadership. This group included men loyal to Andreas Z. Shipanga, the exile interned in Tanzania at the time of writing. The harsh treatment meted out to Shipanga and his adherents reflected the bitter rivalry between contending factions. It also cast grave doubt on the commitment to due process of law and to humane treatment of prisoners professed by SWAPO and by its foreign supporters.

Dr. Gayner had written further on this point:

The growing rift in the guerrilla wing of SWAPO finally erupted in open conflict in March 1976 when many of the younger activist members, under the leadership of Andreas Shipanga, met in southern Zambia and itemized a list of grievances against the Nujoma hierarchy. They charged his leadership with nepotism, corruption, waste, inefficiency and, in general, a lack of principled devotion to the cause of Namibian independence. In order to press their points, they demanded that a new party congress of SWAPO be held in which the entire organization could discuss and eventually vote on the merits of their criticisms and ultimately decide the direction SWAPO would take in the future. Nujoma rejected their proposed challenge to his integrity and authority. This precipitated an attempted march by Shipanga and nearly 1,000 supporters upon the headquarters of Nujoma in Lusaka. However, Nujoma prevailed upon President Kaunda of Zambia to intervene in his behalf and the Zambian army surrounded and disarmed the protesters, forcing them into a prison camp at Boroma. Under the guidance of Nujoma, Zambian authorities continued to arrest additional dissidents in SWAPO and similarly confined them to prison, allegedly granting "protective custody for their own safety."

Mr. Shipanga and 18 other SWAPO dissidents were eventually released by Tanzania in May 1978. The subcommittee has been unable to develop any information about the fate of the other dissidents arrested at the same time. In his testimony, Mr. Shipanga stated that 2,000 SWAPO members were arrested in April 1976 in Zambia. Other than the 600 who were released in April 1977 and the 13 who were released in May 1978, among them Shipanga, he does not know the fate of the remainder, who he last heard had been taken to Angola.

Duignan and Gann have written the following on SWAPO's political ideology:

[8] 1978.

Politically and ideologically, SWAPO did not describe itself as a Marxist-Leninist party but rather—like the MPLA in Angola and Frelimo in Mozambique—as a "popular movement." Its constitution called for the creation of a national economy on the principles of "scientific socialism" with considerable concessions to the so-called "national bourgeoisie" and, on paper, a commitment to an "independent foreign policy." But whereas the MPLA leaders are well-educated and familiar in Marxist circles in London, Paris and Moscow, the SWAPO leaders are poorly schooled and unsophisticated. Depending on the character of its audience, the party spoke with differing voices. One program corresponded to the policy adopted by all other Soviet-supported Marxist movements in Africa and advanced a "national democratic revolution, to be achieved in alliance with the national bourgeoisie, as a steeping stone on the road to socialism." SWAPO's external wing was not ideologically "pure" in the orthodox Marxist-Leninist sense, but in 1977 Nujoma quite falsely accused Israel, West Germany, and Chile of maintaining "mercenaries" in Namibia with aid from the U.S.A. The party vowed to end "capitalist relations based on the exploitations of man." It saw struggle in Namibia as part of a wider confrontation involving the whole of Southern African and, ultimately, the world at large. In tune with the 'United Front' policy followed by the pro-Soviet parties in Africa, SWAPO was also anxious to conciliate "progressive" forces in the West by means of concealing its true objectives. The pro-Soviet "African Communist" commented:

"SWAPO is faced with a strategic problem similar to that facing the Zimbabwean liberation movement: to resist the ideological and financial pressure from the West, while exploiting to the full the Western powers' desire to accommodate to some degree, and for their own reactionary motives, the force for change in Southern Africa. And both these tasks have to be fulfilled while at the same time advancing the armed struggle. . . . the only path to liberation."

Gaynor notes a significant change:

In July 1976, SWAPO revised its constitution and adopted a revealing program for the future of Namibia:

"To unite all Namibian people, particularly the working class, the peasantry, and progressive intellectuals into a vanguard party capable of safeguarding national independence and the building of a classless non-exploitive society based on scientific socialism ideals and principles."

Soviet Ideological Theory

One of the standard texts dealing with the application of Marxist-Leninist theory to the international environment is "The World Communist Movement: An Outline of Strategy and Tactics," [6] edited by V. V. Zagladin.

In chapters 2 (The Unity and Components of the World Revolutionary Process) and 7 (The Struggle to Build Up an Anti-Imperialist National Democratic Front in Asia and Africa) of this seminal work of Communist theory, the role of the national liberation movements in the "anti-imperialist struggle" is carefully explained. The language is so clear and specific that the dispute in Western nations about the question of Soviet exploitation and manipulation of these movements can only be explained as a triumph of Soviet propaganda aided and abetted by tragic self-delusion on the part of many opinion leaders in the West.

On pages 74 and 75 we find the following statements:

"The social revolution," Lenin stressed, "can come only in the form of an epoch in which are combined civil war by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries and a whole series of democratic and revolutionary movements, including the national-liberation movement in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations." [7] At the present stage, the variety of forms

[6] "The World Communist Movement: An Outline of Strategy and Tactics," general ed., V. V. Zagladin, Progress Publishers, Moscow. 1st Imp. (1973).
[7] V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 23, p. 60.

of revolutionary movements is of necessity growing in connection with the expansion of the revolution's social basis, and the involvement of new countries and peoples in the revolution.

The movements that go to make up the revolutionary process differ in the social composition of their participants, and in the aims pursued. In each country, such movements are marked by definite national features but, despite the variety of revolutionary movements, they are all linked together directly or indirectly, their community consisting, first and foremost, in their standing opposed to imperialism in one way or another. Morover, today, when the objective prerequisites exist all over the world for the outmoded exploitative system to yield place to a new system, the struggle of all the revolutionary forces ultimately acquires an objectively anti-capitalist direction. Socialist revolutions, anti-imperialist revolutions for national liberation, people's democratic revolutions, mass peasant movements, the struggle of the masses for the overthrow of fascist and other tyrannical regimes—all these are merging in a single stream that is washing away and destroying capitalism. This gives an inner integrity to the world revolutionary process, despite all the latter's variety, and, as Lenin put it, makes it possible to "regard the international revolutions as one process . . . . 'The world-wide unity of the revolutionary process is manifested primarily in the interlinks and interaction between the three fundamental revolutionary forces of our times: the peoples that are building socialism and communism; the working class in the developed capitalist countries; and the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples and of the peoples of the developing countries.' "

On pages 103 to 105 (still in chapter 2) under the heading "The Place of the National Liberation Movement in the World Revolutionary Process," we find:

Nothing is more erroneous than to assert that Marxism-Leninism underestimates the tremendous role of national-liberation revolutions. It is the Marxists-Leninists who have given the sole correct assessment of the historical place of the national-liberation movement. The disintegration of the colonial empires and the rapid growth of the national-liberation struggle have further aggravated the crisis of the imperialist system as a whole. The national-liberation movement, which is sapping imperialism and forcing it to divert considerable forces to the struggle against the colonial and dependent peoples, is an inherent part of the world revolutionary process.

At the same time, it would be wrong to believe, as the Left- and Right-wing revisionists do, that the areas of the national-liberation movement are a kind of junction of the contradictions in the present-day world. The main contradiction of world development is linked with the main content of our times—the struggle for socialism. Characterizing the historical place of the first socialist state in the destinies of the world revolutionary liberation movement, Lenin said in 1920, "In the present world situation following the imperialist war, reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able to pose a single national or colonial problem correctly, even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world. The Communist Parties, in civilized and backward countries alike, can pose and solve political problems correctly only if they make this postulate their starting-point." [8]

World developments have repeatedly confirmed that the main contradiction of the times can be fully resolved in a struggle between the two opposing systems—socialism and capitalism, a struggle that is the highest manifestation of the contradictions between labor and capital . . .

Socialism's role in the development of the national-liberation movement was stressed by Lenin. The "revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East can now develop effectively, can reach a successful issue, only in direct association with the revolutionary struggle of our Soviet Republic against international imperialism", [9] he said. This behest is of even greater importance today when socialism has grown into a mighty world system. The world-wide upsurge of the national-liberation movement and its emergence as an independent and active

[8] V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 241.
[9] Ibid., vol. 30, p. 151.

force were a direct outcome of the radical change in the alignment of world forces brought about by the growth of world socialism. The influence of the world socialist system and the working-class struggle in the capitalist countries is also reflected in the social content of the national-liberation movement.

Since the attainment of political independence by most of the former colonies, national-liberation revolutions have entered a stage of development in which their further successes depend, to an increasing extent, on the consolidation of their alliance with the other decisive forces of the world revolution process and also on the stronger positions of the working class and all democratic elements at home.

The same line of reasoning continues on page 109:

The further consolidation of the alliance between the patriotic forces of the national-liberation movement and the socialist countries and the international working class is a major condition for the completion of national-liberation revolutions.

The prospects of development of the world revolutionary process depend on the cohesion of all revolutionary forces. "Three mighty forces of our time—the world socialist system, the international working class and the national-liberation movement—are coming together in the struggle against imperialism," says the concluding Document adopted at the International Meeting in 1969. "The present phase is characterized by growing possibilities for a further advance of the revolutionary and progressive forces. At the same time, the dangers brought about by imperialism, by its policy of aggression, are growing. Imperialism, whose general crisis is deepening, continues to oppress many peoples and remains a constant threat to peace and social progress." [10]

The situation today calls imperatively for united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties, by all anti-imperialist forces, for an ever broader offensive against imperialism and the forces of reaction and war, by making full use of the ever new opportunities provided by the times.

The unity of these revolutionary forces has a sound basis. Each of these forces is tackling its own tasks, but they have a common enemy—imperialism. They have common aims—the struggle for the interests of the working people, for peace, democracy and freedom. All this calls for the efforts of the world socialist system, the working-class and the national-liberation movement to be united for a joint attack on imperialism. All the objective conditions exist to make that unity a reality.

The essential similarity of the "road to socialism" in different societies is postulated in chapter 3 of the same work, at page 125:

"Experience shows," Leonid Breshnev said, "that the road of different countries to socialism is marked by such major common milestones as the socialist revolution in one form or another, including the smashing and replacement of the state machine of the exploiters; the establishment of one or another form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with other strata of the working people, and the abolition of the exploiting classes; the socialization of the means of production and the consolidation of socialist relations of production and other social relations in town and countryside; the bringing of cultural values within the reach of the masses of working people, i.e. the cultural revolution in Lenin's meaning of the word." [11]

Leonid Brezhnev went on to describe the main features of socialism as already built up, namely, rule by the working people, with the working class in the vanguard and the Marxist-Leninist party guiding the development of society; society's ownership of the means of production and the planned growth of the national economy on that basis, at a high technological level and in the interests of the people's welfare; implementation of the principle, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work;" education of the people in the people in the spirit of the ideology of scientific communism and of friendship with the fraternal socialist nations and the working people of the whole world; a foreign policy based on the principles of proletarian socialist internationalism.

In chapter 7, we find on page 282 a section entitled "Features of the National Liberation Movement at its Present Stage."

The struggle of the national and social liberation forces against imperialist domination and for economic independence remains the main content of the na-

[10] International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969, p. 11.
[11] L. I. Brezhnev, "Following Lenin's Course," p. 291.

tional-liberation movement in the 1970's. At the same time a number of Asian and African countries are going through a multiform process of changes in social relations, during which the national-liberation struggle is developing into a struggle against relations of both feudal and capitalist exploitation.

Two trends are emerging in the progressive advancement of the Asian and African countries. A change in favor of democracy and socialism in the world alignment of class forces has helped enrich the content of national-liberation revolutions. The national-democratic and revolutionary forces that are fighting against imperialist exploitation also come out against the capitalist relations of exploitation, which become an obstacle to social progress.

On pages 285 and 286 the theme is developed further.

Historical experience has shown that programs of socio-economic reforms can be achieved only through a consistent anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle. Success along this road will be made possible by radical changes in the alignment of class forces in favor of progress and democracy and by stronger positions of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Parties.

Representatives of revolutionary democracy have come to power in more and more countries, such as Egypt, Syria, Algeria, Somalia, Tanzania, the People's Republic of Congo, Guinea and Burma.[12] These countries are carrying out profound social reforms in the interests of the people and greater national independence. Though they do not yet predominate among the newly free states, their emergence and development have been of great significance, because they have shown other countries prospects of advancement along the road of social progress. The successful development of the socialist-oriented countries provides an example and incentive for a fresh upsurge in the liberation struggle everywhere.

Thus, qualitatively new progressive changes that may become irreversible are taking place in the Asian and African national-liberation movements. In characterizing the features of the national-liberation revolution at the present stage, Leonid Brezhnev said at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties: "The socialist orientation of a number of young states of Africa and Asia is an important achievement of the revolutionary forces and a heavy defeat for imperialism. These countries have scored their first successes in carrying through deep-going social and economic reforms, thereby providing fresh practical confirmation of the Leninist conclusion that in our epoch the peoples who win liberation from colonial oppression can advance along the path of social progress by by-passing capitalism. One of the most important conditions which make such development possible is cooperation between the progressive young states and the socialist countries." [13]

The Soviet doctrine of the national-democratic revolution, which is to be followed by the socialist revolution, is well known. Each of the former SWAPO and ANC members who testified before the subcommittee had been taught it. The interim phase, known as the phase of noncapitalistic development, is cogently explained in chapter 7 at page 289:

In such a situation the question of relations between the revolutionary democrats and the Marxist-Leninist parties acquires a decisive significance. The interests of the struggle call for sincere cooperation and genuine unification of all revolutionary anti-imperialist forces.

To sum up, non-capitalist development presupposes the following:

The possibility for economically backward countries to achieve socialism by by-passing the capitalist stage;

The possibility of such countries advancing toward socialism, with reliance on the proletarian and non-proletarian masses;

The ability of the revolutionary leadership to vigorously and consistently implement both anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist measures, which will inevitably bring it closer to scientific socialism;

The elevation of the working masses, above all the working class, to leading positions in all spheres of public life;

Close and comprehensive cooperation with the socialist countries;

A consistent policy of struggle against imperialism in all spheres (economic, political, diplomatic, ideological, and so on).

[12] The book was published in 1973. The list would have omitted Egypt and Somalia had it been published now but added Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia among the African states.
[13] International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969, p. 152.

Thus, the non-capitalist road is a specific and historically transitional stage in the development of the countries with a backward and multiform economy, a stage at which the tasks of the national-democratic revolution are accomplished in such a way that political, economic and cultural conditions are created for the construction of socialism to be launched.

Finally, at page 293, we are afforded an explicit account of Communist expectations of the national-liberation movements and of the governments of the newly free nations which they have helped bring to power:

Communists have a differentiated approach to socialist concepts widespread in Asia and Africa, this depending on what interests such concepts express and whose class interests they serve. They make a class assessment of any particular doctrine with due account of the practical activities of groups that are in power and of the essence and aims of the socio-economic measures such groups implement. Communists expose those who falsely asseverate that they want to build a "socialist society," while ignoring the long due need of completing the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Communists uphold and try to develop the sound and democratic principles contained in some socialist doctrines. Marxist-Leninists realize that hundreds of millions of people have only recently entered political life and are not yet prepared to adopt the ideas of scientific socialism.

Help from socialist countries to the newly free nations of Asia and Africa has been most useful in spreading the truth about socialism. This friendly, disinterested and sincere aid and the experience of the working people are the best arguments in favor of scientific socialism.

The remainder of this instructive chapter discusses the means of creating and maintaining a united national-democratic and anti-imperialist front consisting of workers, peasants, and the national bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Not surprisingly, the South African Communist Party has consistently adopted a position with regard to the relationship of national liberation movements to the Soviet Bloc which is entirely consistent with the foregoing theory. In "African Communist," the official journal of the South African Communist Party, No. 80 October 1, 1980, the text of an important resolution, adopted by the party in November 1979, is printed under the heading, "The World Communist Movement":

We who are part of the liberation movement of South Africa must never fail to appreciate and insist that solidarity is a *two-way* process, that the aid and support which the socialist countries give so generously and at the expense of their own material gains, to freedom fighters everywhere, can only be reciprocated by *unswerving identification* with the socialist community in the common struggle against capitalism and imperialism (italics added).

The presidents of both SWAPO and the ANC have repeatedly acknowledged the importance of Soviet support to their organizations. High officials of SWAPO and the ANC were among the speakers at the XXVIth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March 1981. In his address to the congress, SWAPO President Nujoma described Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev as a devoted staunch fighter for peace, détente, freedom and the peoples rights and human dignity of all the world's people. Nujoma then directly acknowledged Soviet assistance to SWAPO by saying that without the support of the Soviet Union, SWAPO would not have been able to achieve those results that they have achieved today. "We address ourselves to the Soviet Union which is giving comprehensive support to the people of Namibia."

Oliver Tambo has consistently disclosed a like appreciation of the relationship between the Soviet Union, East Germany, and the African National Congress.

In an article published in the ANC magazine "Sechaba" (January 1981), Tambo expressed full support for a conference held in East Berlin on October 1980, to consider the principles of scientific socialism. Tambo went on to emphasize the need for strengthening the unity of the three revolutionary elements of the revolutionary world process. He identified these, to no one's surprise, as the existing socialist states, the international working class movement, and the national liberation movements. Tambo continued by noting that the unity of these three revolutionary elements was a vital precondition for the final victory over all forces of imperialism, colonialism, racism, zionism, and exploitation of man by man.

A report published after a conference on "International Mobilization Against Apartheid and for the Liberation of Southern Africa", held in May 1981, contained reports from the U.S.S.R., the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the German Democratic Republic, Romania, and Bulgaria on the support that these countries provide to liberation movements in southern Africa. The East Germany statement is of particular interest:

> The people and the government of the German Democratic Republic stand firmly by the side of the people of South Africa and Namibia and their national liberation movements, ANC and SWAPO * * * Consistent support for those peoples * * * and for the liberated countries * * * represents an inalienable principle of socialist foreign policy. That support is reflected in the German Democratic Republic's close relations with the nationally liberated states of Africa and the national liberation movements ANC and SWAPO.

During previous hearings held by the subcommittee, we have examined the relationships between the Soviet Union and terrorist organizations around the world. It is of interest in this context that Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, speaking at an International Conference on Solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian People, sponsored by the World Peace Council and held in Paris, in September 1980, made the following statement about the relationship between his movement and other terrorist movements.

> Speaking as the leader of a liberation movement, I would like to assure our comrades in arms in the liberation struggles, Polisario, Fretelin, and the PLO, the fighters in the Canary Islands, that by definition their struggle is ours. Every victory they win advances our cause against the forces of imperialism and racism. We fight in our countries to advance their struggles. As far as the PLO is concerned, our fight is carried on in the knowledge of the degree of intimacy and political, military, and economic alliance that has developed between racism and zionism.

Soviet theoretician Alexei Kozlov,[14] writing in the Soviet weekly journal "New Times," No. 20 (1981), makes the same point from a different perspective:

> Solidarity with the liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is a permanent area of the collective actions of the Communist parties. In the late 1960's and the first half of the 1970's the fraternal parties participated in the truly worldwide campaigns of solidarity with the peoples of Indo-China, as well as Angola. Mozambique and other former Portuguese colonies in Africa. Today the fraternal parties give every support to the patriotic forces of Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Iran, the Arab peoples fighting

[14] "With Confident Stride: The International Communist Movement Today," Alexei Kozlov, "New Times," 20–81.

against Israeli aggression, the liberation movement in the south of Africa, the fighters against tyrannical regimes in Latin American countries.

Even closer ties bind the Communist movement with a new major political force of the modern world—the revolutionary-democratic parties. They function in dozens of developing countries and hold power in Angola, Mozambique, the People's Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, South Yemen, and some others. The revolutionary democrats are guided in their activities by the doctrine of scientific socialism, by the organizational and political principles of the building of vanguard parties of the working people, and advocate a socialist road of development for their countries, and alliance with the world socialism and the international Communist movement.

A sense of pragmatic opportunism on the part of the Soviet leadership supplements the Leninist vision of an epochal, universal, social revolution combining the uprising of a revolutionary proletariat in the industrialized nations and a series of "democratic and revolutionary movements" elsewhere. Soviet historian Yakov Etinger,[15] writing in the "New Times," No. 39 (1981), comments as follows on the advantages which accrue to the Soviet Union as a result of the acquisition of power by "national liberation movements" supported by the Soviets:

An important feature of the foreign policy of these countries is their strategic alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist states on an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist basis. In some cases their relations have been formalized in treaties of friendship and cooperation. In Africa such treaties with the Soviet Union have been concluded in Angola, Congo, Mozambique and Ethiopia. The economic, scientific, technical, political and if necessary, military aid of socialist countries strengthens the alliance between them and the socialist oriented countries and between their ruling Communist and revolutionary-democratic parties within the framework of the world revolutionary movement. "Many sided mutually advantageous cooperation with the countries of the socialist community acquires special significance for us," Eduardo dos Santos, President of Angola and Chairman of the MPLA–Workers' Party, said at the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communists. "This cooperation accords with the will of our parties and our peoples and becomes even more dynamic."

Another feature of the foreign policy of the socialist-oriented countries is the growing role of internationalist principles in it as evidenced in particular by the stand taken by many of them on the "Kampuchean" and "Afghan" questions, by their solidarity with Angola which has been savagely attacked by racist South Africa, and by their support of the Namibian guerrillas.

The foreign policy of the socialist-oriented countries is characterized also by militant anti-imperialism and anti-racism in the world arena, in the United Nations in particular, and by support of the initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socalist countries for peace and international security.

Dr. Etinger further elucidates the Soviet Union's interest in African nations:

The 18th summit meeting of the member states of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held in Nairobi in June 1981 demonstrated once again the increasing role of the newly free African countries in world affairs. "The emergence of these countries on the International scene has infused a fresh and sound spirit into world politics," Leonid Brezhnev noted. "A good exponent of their views and aspirations is the Organization of African Unity which has proclaimed unity of the African countries on an anti-imperialist and anti-colonial basis as its lofty goal. Africa today plays a considerable and indisputable part in world affairs. Its voice resounds ever more confidently in the solution of major present day problems."

The efforts of most African countries to achieve stable peace and international security and to preserve and extend detente, their anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-racist stand, and the expansion of friendly and equitable political and economic ties with socialist countries have earned them much prestige in the international community.

[15] "Weighty Role," Yakov Etinger, "New Times", 39–81.

The progressive role of most African countries is reflected in their constructive approach to the ways and methods of solving many complicated world issues. For instance, with the active support of African countries, the 32nd UN General Assembly adopted a Soviet-sponsored declaration on the extension and strengthening of international detente.

The African countries made up almost a third of the U.N. membership. They are represented in the Arab League, the Islamic Conference, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and many other interstate political and economic organizations of newly-free countries.

Africa plays an especially important part in the non-aligned movement which has today 95 full-fledged members. The continent is represented in this movement by 50 countries and one national liberation movement (The South West Africa People's Organization).

Those unfamiliar with the Soviet interpretation of the concept "non-alignment" will find Dr. Etinger's discussion of that term most useful.

Since non-alignment is an expression of the independent foreign policy course favoring profound internal social and economic changes, there can evidently be no contradiction between socialist orientation and non-alignment. The government delegations of Angola and Mozambique stressed in a communique on their talks in September 1978 that the desire of their countries "to build socialist society on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism fully accords with the ideals of the non-aligned movements."

The socialist-oriented countries of Africa resolutely come out against the concept of the "equidistant" position of the newly-free states from world socialism and imperialism which is advocated by some circles in the non-aligned movement.

The need for African countries to continue their anti-imperialist policy and maintain their unity in spite of all internal differences and contradictions has become especially important now when U.S. imperialism is trying on the pretext of combatting "international terrorism" to launch an offensive against the national liberation forces in Africa and other regions of the Third World and to push the newly-free countries out of their anti-imperialist positions.

These attempts are being vigorously repelled. For instance, the anti-imperialist trend of the non-aligned movement was reaffirmed on the whole at the non-aligned foreign ministers' meeting held in Delhi in February of this year. The OAU's Nairobi summit was also marked by the growth of anti-imperialist trends in Africa and by solidarity with the national liberation movements in the struggle against the South African racists and their Western backers.

As one of the witnesses who testified before the subcommittee, Sovietologist Dr. Peter Vanneman, noted succinctly:

The USSR is striving to enhance its influence in southern Africa not merely to affect events there but to influence events throughout the continent and the world. Its purpose is not merely to dominate the southern African region, but to utilize its influence there to enhance its influence elsewhere.

In other words, Soviet activities in the southern African region reflect that regime's concern with fashioning policies for areas far from its periphery which will maximize its global influence. As a global superpower, the USSR must devise policies for farflung areas which will augment its influence in areas of its vital interests throughout the world. The problem is to exploit local conflict to expand global, continental and regional influence.

Dr. Vanneman also pointed out that:

The intensity of the continuing long range interest of the USSR in southern Africa is indicated by the creation of three relatively new governmental structures organized specifically to deal with that area of the world. There is a special section of the African Institute of the USSR Academy of Science that deals with "liberation questions," and the largest section of INU, a department of the KGB (Soviet intelligence) dealing with propaganda, is the one for southern Africa. Finally, one of the three sections of the Soviet foreign ministry dealing with Africa focuses exclusively on southern Africa.

This development is entirely understandable in light of Leninist theory with respect to the role of the national liberation movements in the world revolutionary struggle and in light of geopolitical impor-

tance of southern Africa to the industrial health and security of the countries of the NATO alliance.

Evidence Presented During the Hearings

The following witnesses testified at the 5 days of hearings:

March 22: Hon. Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Department of State; Dr. Peter Vanneman, associate professor of political science, University of Arkansas.

March 24: Miss Nokonono D. Kave, former Black Consciousness Movement organizer and ANC member.

March 25: Mr. Ephraim Mfalapitsa, former ANC member; Mr. Jeffrey Bosigo, former ANC member; Mr. Bartholomew Hlapane, former member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and of the Central Committee of the S.A. Communist Party.

March 29: Mr. Dickson Namolo, former SWAPO/PLAN member; Mr. Emanuel Hashiko, former SWAPO/PLAN member.

March 31: Advocate Jariretundo Kozonguizi, official of the Council of Ministers of SWA/Namibia and founding members of SWAPO; Lt. Andriano Bomba, former fighter pilot in the Mozambique Air Force; Mr. Andreas Shipanga (president of SWAPO-Democrats and founding member of SWAPO).

The hearing elicited testimony which is at once shocking and familiar. It is familiar to those who have experience of the attempts, all too often successful, of Moscow and its agents to infiltrate and manipulate the so-called national liberation movements in Southeast Asia, Latin America, and Africa. It is shocking to all who prize liberty, democratic values, and human rights.

As Senator Patrick Moynihan of New York has remarked, the Communists have succeeded in appropriating the language of liberty. They cloak totalitarianism in the rhetoric of democracy. They conceal their expansionist goals with praiseworthy labels like "liberation" and "freedom." Who in U.S. society, unfamiliar with the rhetoric of Marxism-Leninism, would not identify with a "struggle to liberate oppressed peoples from imperialist domination * * * a struggle for freedom?" The true irony is that the Soviets, whose tyranny over their own citizens has been so graphically documented by writers like Alexandr Solzhenitsyn, and whose brutality toward those in other societies who seek freedom was demonstrated in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968, in Afghanistan in 1979, and in Poland in 1981, nonetheless are allowed to represent themselves as the bearers of the flag of freedom in the developing world.

Some well-intentioned persons argue that the failure of Western governments to support reformist or radical elements in developing societies that, confronted with social, political, or economic inequity, attempt to achieve their goals by force, drives them into the arms of the Soviets. According to this school of thought, the proper course for the United States is to be supportive of these radical elements and their general goals in order to preempt Soviet support.

In reality, of course, right and wrong are rarely so clearly differentiated in human society that the choices are obvious or easy.

With admirable clarity, Dr. Henry Kissinger has characterized the

policy dilemma which our policymakers confront, in the second volume of his memoirs, "Years of Upheaval." He writes:

> One of the premises of the democratic process is that the loser accepts his defeat and in return is given an opportunity to win on another occasion. It depends on a moderate center whose evolution is almost inevitably thwarted in a developing country when a totalitarian element succeeds in organizing a guerrilla war. This impels the government into acts of repression, starting a vicious circle that traps both government and opponents and destroys whatever moderate center exists—fulfilling the central purpose of the insurgency. Moreover, the victims of terrorist attacks are almost invariably the ablest and most dedicated officials, leaving in place the corrupt.
>
> The American response to this historical phenomenon is usually expressed in the conviction that a government under seige can best maintain itself by accelerating democratic reforms and by expanding its base of support by sharing power. But the fundamental cause of civil war (of which guerrilla war is a special category) is the breakdown of domestic consensus. Compromise, the essense of democratic politics, is its first victim. Civil wars almost without exception end in victory or defeat, never in coalition governments—the favorite American recipe. Concessions are ascribed to the weakness of those holding power, not to their magnanimity and hence, perversely, may accelerate rather than arrest the disintegration of authority. The proper time for reform is before civil wars break out, in order to pre-empt their causes—though this does not always work when the insurrection is inspired, financed, trained and equipped from outside the country.

The dilemma that our policymakers confront is all the more difficult when the Soviet Union, within the strategic framework so clearly described by Soviet theoreticians, and ever on the lookout for what Assistant Secretary Crocker has described as " * * * targets of opportunity * * * to act counter to Western interests * * *" succeeds in securing influence with, or control over, the leadership of radical groups. For example, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick[16] describes SWAPO, the South West Africa People's Organization, as:

> . . . one of those coalitions, of which we have seen a good many in our times, which includes some rather heterogeneous elements: some purely nationalist elements and some not very well-defined elements and some Communist elements and some Marxist-Leninist elements that are explicitly oriented toward the Soviet Union and were trained there.

She has also noted:

> . . . (SWAPO) . . . does include in its leadership some significant portion of persons tied to the Soviets by training and by predilection. And its principal source of arms is of course the Soviet Union or surrogates thereof and we have seen in our times a good many such coalitions come to power only to have the most well-organized unit, which usually turns out to be the Soviet-oriented, Marxist-Leninist, seize control of the coalition.

The testimony presented by the witnesses during these hearings certainly supports this description. Dr. Crocker indicated in his testimony that the administration estimates SWAPO receives about 90 percent of its military support and 60 percent of its overall support from Communist sources. Advocate Kozonguizi also drew the subcommittee's attention to the scale of the Soviet bloc's commitment to SWAPO, pointing to the large quantities of weapons and military equipment made available in Angola. The younger witnesses, Mr. Namolo and Mr. Hashiko, testified about their training in Angola by Soviet instructors. They also described their indoctrination in the Soviet Union in "socialism and communism," "Leninist teachings" and "political economy."

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[16] Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick: Interview—The MacNeil-Lehrer Report, Tuesday, Apr. 21, 1981. (Transcript, p. 8.)

Documents submitted for the record contain evidence of the training of large numbers of SWAPO "cadres" in the Soviet Union, both in military disciplines and, without exception, in Marxist-Leninist ideology. The position of "political commissar" is entrenched at all organizational levels of SWAPO. These men, selected on the basis of their educational attainments and understanding of ideology, are trained at the KOMSOL Party School in the Soviet Union, in the German Democratic Republic and in Cuba. Documents confirming this have been included in the record.

On the basis both of the testimony presented and the documents made available to the subcommittee, the conclusion is inescapable that the Soviets and their Communist allies within SWAPO insure that Marxist-Leninist doctrine is systematically taught to all who are recruited for, or pressed into service in, SWAPO and PLAN (the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, SWAPO's military wing).

As Advocate Kozonguizi pointed out in his testimony, SWAPO has adopted Marxist-Leninist ideology. The quotation from the Political Manual ("Namibia: The Struggle for Final Liberation") and from SWAPO's political program show this beyond doubt. Those familiar with Marxist-Leninist rhetoric will easily understand the clear statement of objectives in this passage:

> The ideas of socialist orientation, as stated in the revised Political Program of SWAPO, have become our way of life, and we have now to grasp this great truth, that the first step in the revolution currently waged by the Namibian proletariat and the working peasants is to raise the two friendly classes in our society to the position of the ruling class which, at the time, is the first step to winning the battle of a peoples democracy.
>
> Only in this way, shall we Namibian participants in the current liberation struggle (which we are waging on behalf of the general masses of all our people) be able to use the political supremacy of people's power to wrest state power from the colonial bourgeoisie, for the purpose of centralizing all the means of production and distribution in the hands of the worker and peasant masses.[17]

The political manual states on page 50:

> Now this proves the truth of what Marx, Engels and Lenin discovered and predicted. Their discoveries are being confirmed by historical development, by the triumphs and advance of socialism and by the rapid decline of capitalism. Marxism-Leninism is therefore proving to be the only theory enabling the oppressed and exploited classes (the proletariat and the peasantry) to carry out their historical mission (i.e., the destruction of the rule of capital and of the system of exploitation of man by man).

Similarly, the relationship between SWAPO's efforts in Namibia and the Soviet Union's international war against "imperialism" is clearly spelled out by SWAPO in a document called, "The True Nature of Imperialism":

> We cannot escape the fact that as long as South Africa remains a bulwark of capitalism, the independence of the rest of the subcontinent is going to be continually threatened.
>
> Nor can we escape the fact that, given our understanding of imperialism as a world system, it is not sufficient to break the hold of South Africa over the subcontinent. To open the path to true liberation, we must break imperialism as a world economic system.

The tragedy of this is illuminated by the testimony of Mr. Andreas Shipanga. He was a founder of SWAPO in 1960 and, in 1958, of its

[17] Namibia: "The Struggle for Final Liberation," Political Manual of the Namibian Institute of Revolutionary Studies, Office of the SWAPO Organizing Secretary, 1977.

predecessor, the Ovambo People's Organization (OPO). He testified that the movement was not created as a Communist party or as a front for the Communists and that the chief ally of the OPO in its struggle for the rights of the people of Namibia was the Liberal Party of South Africa. He testified that the South African Communist Party was originally hostile to the OPO and to SWAPO. Mr. Shipanga stated that it was only after his arrest and that of his followers in April 1976 that the Political Program was altered to provide for the reconstitution of SWAPO as an organization espousing Marxist-Leninist principles.

There are clear parallels with the history of Communist infiltration of the African National Congress.

The African National Congress was founded in 1912 and, as Mr. Bartholomew Hlapane has made clear to the subcommittee, its aims were:

> * * * To achieve democratic rights for the African people through peaceful means.

Mr. Hlapane, who, as a former member of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party and of the National Executive of the African National Congress, is singularly well qualified to comment on the relationship between these organizations, in which he served during the years 1955 to 1964, testified that:

> * * * No major decision could be taken by the ANC without the concurrence and approval of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party. Most major developments were in fact initiated by the Central Committee.

Mr. Hlapane further testified that:

> The Military Wing of the ANC, also known as Umkhonto We Sizwe, was the brainchild of the SACP, and, after the decision to create it had been taken, Joe Slovo and J. B. Marks were sent by the Central Committee of the SACP to Moscow to organize arms and ammunition and to raise funds for Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Joe Slovo is now officially designated as "Deputy Chief" of Umkhonto We Sizwe and is still a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party. After years of residence in London after his departure from South Africa in 1963, he returned to South Africa in 1975 after FRELIMO's accession to power in Mozambique.

Mr. Hlapane also testified that the sole source of funds for Umkhonto We Sizwe during the period that he acted as Treasurer of the SACP was the Communist Party itself.

Mr. Hlapane's personal account of the situation during this period of ANC history is independently confirmed by Mr. Jordan K. Ngubane in "An African Explains Apartheid," chapter 15, which has been included in the record of the hearings and quoted at some length earlier in this report.

To judge from the testimony of the younger ANC witnesses, little has changed. Mr. Mfalapitsa received military and political training in Angola and the German Democratic Republic, and Mr. Bosigo in Angola and the Soviet Union. Miss Kave recounted a horrifying tale of indoctrination and abuse in Zambia, Botswana and the U.S.S.R. Describing lectures in politics he received in Angola (at the Nova Catengue base where Cuban instructors, lecturers and commanders supplemented those of Umkhonto We Sizwe), Mr. Bosigo has said:

Every recruit was required to know the "Freedom Charter" which was adopted by the African National Congress, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, and the South African Communist Party in 1955. We received lectures on Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Communist ideology. During all lectures the oppression of the black man in South Africa by the whites was emphasized, and we were told that we must fight for our freedom from the South African government.

Certainly the South African Communist Party, whose Chairman Dr. Yusuf Dadoo is vice president of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, has not changed its position toward the ANC since Mr. Hlapane served on the Central Committee.

In a "Statement by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party on its 60th Anniversary" printed in African Communist No. 86, Third Quarter 1981, the committee declared:

From the days of the ICU to the Council of Non-European Trade Unions to SACTU, our Party has always been amongst those in the forefront. * * * in their battles against the capitalist class and its racist state. When the situation demanded a turn to organized revolutionary violence in the early 60's, our Party together with the ANC helped bring into existence the fighting arm of the Liberation movement—Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Today the SACP is a vital part of the liberation forces headed by the African National Congress. This alliance aims to unite all sections and classes amongst the oppressed and other truly democratic forces for a revolution to destroy white domination. This revolution, whose main content is the national liberation of the African and other black oppressed groups, must put an end to race discrimination in all its forms, restore the land and wealth of our country to the people and guarantee democracy, freedom and equality of rights and opportunities to all.

We believe that the immediate struggle to destroy racist colonialism and to win national freedom is an essential part of the struggle for a future socialist South Africa.

In this struggle the key force has always been, and will continue to be, the black working class in alliance with the masses of the landless rural people. It is this class which finds its most staunch champions in our South African Communist Party.

Further on in the same statement, the committee noted:

South African Communists, whose party 60 years ago was the first to raise the red flag of Marxism-Leninism on our continent, are especially inspired by the newly born states of Mozambique and Angola led by liberation movements which have transformed themselves into Marxist-Leninist vanguards of their working people and are engaged in the continuing revolution to create conditions for the building of socialism in their countries. The specter of socialism and communism, born of people's liberation struggles, now stares at our common enemy right in the face from the borders of Mozambique and Angola. And the enemy trembles at the knees.

. . . The revolutionary advances in Southern Africa have been won through sacrifice and struggle and with the internationalist support of the socialist world and, more especially, the Soviet Union, the first society ruled by and for workers who captured power in the great October Socialist Revolution in 1917. We are proud that for 60 years our party has been part of the great international brotherhood of workers and Communist Parties which have always stood foursquare behind our struggle against racist and capitalist tyranny. The enemy's intensified anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign is itself a tribute to the consistent support which our struggle has received, and continues to receive, from the world socialist forces.

Our people will not be taken in by the slander of the racists. They know that wherever oppressed people have been forced to confront the enemy, the AK, produced by Soviet workers, has become the feared symbol of the fight for freedom. They know too that it is the socialist world which is the biggest obstacle to the maneuvers of the racists and their imperialist allies in their attempts to turn back the clock of history and to destroy the gains of the African revolution.

When Mr. Hlapane was shown a list of the current members of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, he named seven of them whom he knew to be members of the SACP during the time he was a member of the Communist Party.

South African intelligence sources had previously identified 11 persons (including 6 of 7 identified by Mr. Hlapane), out of 22 currently serving on the National Executive Committee of the ANC, as members of the SACP. The seventh person identified as a Communist Party member by Mr. Hlapane, Thabo Mbeki, now chief of the political department of the ANC, had not previously been identified as a Communist by the South Africans. Miss Kave, however, independently confirmed to the subcommittee staff that she too knew Thabo Mbeki to be a member of the SACP. The following list of the members of the ANC National Executive Committee indicating membership of the SACP, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, Umkhonto We Sizwe, and the (Communist fronts) World Peace Council and Afro-African Peoples Solidarity Organization, was provided to the subcommittee staff by South African intelligence sources.

ANC : NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (NEC)

		POSITION IN NEC	SACP	SACTU	UMKHONTO WE SIZWE	WPC	AAPSO
1.	Oliver TAMBO	President	○		●	●	
2.	Yusuf DADOO	Vice President	●		●	●	
3.	Alfred NZO	Secretary General	●		●	●	●
4.	Dan TLOOME	Deputy Secretary General	●				
5.	Thomas NKOBI	Treasurer General					
6.	Joe MODISE	Chief of Umkhonto We Sizwe	○		●		
7.	Joe SLOVO	Deputy Chief of Umkhonto We Sizwe	●		●		
8.	Josiah JELE	Director of International Affairs	●			●	
9.	Sizakele SIGXASHE	Director of Information and Publicity	○		●		
10.	Reginald SEPTEMBER	Member	●		●		
11.	Thabo MBEKI	Chief of Political Department			●		
12.	Moses MABHIDA	Member	●	●	●		
13.	Stephen DLAMINI	Member	●	●			
14.	Hector HOULA	Member	●				
15.	John NKADIMENG	Member	●	●			
16.	Henry MAKGOTHI	Member	○		●		
17.	Jacob ZUMA	Member	○		●		
18.	Robert MAHCI	Member					
19.	Andrew MASONDO	Member	○		●		
20.	Mziwandile PILISO	Chief of Personell and Security	●			●	●
21.	Edward DILINGA	Refugee problems	○		●		
22.	Simon Sipho MAKANA	Information processing					

Neither Mr. Hlapane nor South African intelligence have named Oliver Tambo, the president of the ANC, as a member of the South African Communist Party and Mr. Hlapane has, in fact, said that as far as he knew, Mr. Tambo was not a Communist. The subcommittee has acquired no firm information that shows Mr. Tambo to be a Communist, although he serves, with Alfred NZO and Yusuf Dadoo, on

the presidential committee of the World Peace Council. The speech which he gave on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the SACP illustrates, however, as do his remarks on many other occasions,[18] that even those in the ANC who are not members of the Communist Party believe it necessary and appropriate to advance Moscow's line.

Comrade Chairman, Your Excellencies and Comrades, let me commence by thanking you, Comrade Chairman, and the SACP for inviting the African National Congress to be a party to this occasion and in particular for the opportunity of sharing a platform with the Communist Party, of Great Britain, represented here by the General Secretary Gordon McLennan and with the Communist Party of Ireland, represented by Comrade Michael O'Riordan.

These are our allies; they are part of the international movement of solidarity which gives us strength and confidence in the certainty of our victory. These parties, together with other communist and workers parties around the world, are parties which we can always appeal to for solidarity in the conviction that they will respond.

It is a great pleasure for us, a great honor to participate with them on an occasion of great significance in our struggle in South Africa.

This speech was published in "African Communist," No. 87, fourth quarter 1981, and in "Sechaba," the official organ of the ANC, September 1981.

In his speech to the International Preparatory Committee of the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, held in Sofia, Bulgaria, on September 23 through 27, 1980, Mr. Tambo said:

Vietnam confirmed that the international balance of power had shifted irrevocably in favor of the forces of national independence and social progress, whatever reverses these forces might suffer here and there. Vietnam proved to the forces of reaction that the socialist community of nations, the rest of progressive mankind, and the world anti-imperialist movement, had sufficient political will and strength to resist and defeat the most desperate machinations of these forces of reaction. The rout of the U.S. forces in Vietnam represented also the collapse of the policy of nuclear blackmail followed by the United States since Hiroshima.

This speech, printed in "Sechaba," January 1981, has also been included in the record.

We may well sympathize with the original goal of these two movements, SWAPO and the ANC, to achieve democratic political rights and expanded freedoms for the black peoples of Namibia and South Africa. We cannot, however, delude ourselves that their purpose now is the achievement of those praiseworthy objectives. They have, to judge from the testimony the subcommittee has received and from the statements and actions of their leaders, been deeply infiltrated by those who seek to advance the imperialistic ambitions of the Soviet Union. They thus work to the obvious detriment of the peoples of the southern African region, not to their advantage. Mr. Bomba has testified eloquently about the collapse of Mozambique and the regimentation of its society since FRELIMO's accession to power. The State Department has presented the same judgment to Congress in several hearings.

V. Naumov,[19] writing in "New Times," No. 26 (1980), perhaps inadvertently, provides some insight into the reasons for this decline.

The Third FRELIMO Congress held in February 1977 decided to turn FRELIMO into a vanguard party uniting the most class-conscious and active workers, peasants and intellectuals.

[18] C.f. Tambo's remarks in the article in Sechaba (January 1981), cited on p. 15 of this chairman's report and the text of the "Concluding Document," adopted at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1996 (p. 11), cited on p. 12 of the chairman's report.

[19] "Looking Confidently Ahead," V. Naumov, New Times, 26–80.

The FRELIMO programme (of the Revolution), a copy of which was presented to me in the museum, states: "The party will lead the Mozambican people along the road to further revolutionary-democratic transformations, total elimination of the exploitation of man by man and creation of conditions for laying the political, material and ideological foundations of socialism in the People's Republic of Mozambique." It went on to say that the party would be guided on this road by scientific socialism and would "promote ties with the world revolutionary movement, particularly with the Marxist-Leninist parties of socialist countries, which are the closest allies of FRELIMO. . . ."

Implementation of the young republic's economic plans is hampered by the counter-revolutionary forces which have not laid down their arms. They resort to sabotage, putting economically important enterprises and communication facilities out of commission, if only temporarily, assault FRELIMO activists, and sow panic and doubt among the population.

The republican armed forces are waging successful operations against bandit gangs in Sofala, Manica, and Tete provinces. They are assisted by people's militia units and vigilance groups made up of volunteers. The total number of these active defenders of the revolution now exceeds 150,000.

The year 1979 was proclaimed a "year of consolidation of revolutionary gains." Steps were taken to enhance the role played by FRELIMO in the country's social and political affairs, and a number of organizational measures were carried out in the economic field. The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the FRELIMO Central Committee and the Fourth Session of the People's Assembly, both held in June last year, adopted a two-year economic development plan providing, among other things, for the introduction of the principles of scientific socialist planning, and for measures to strengthen the public sector and make it more effective * * *.

Addressing a mass meeting in Maputo on March 19 this year, President Samora Machel, FRELIMO Chairman, summed up the results of the first stage of the "political and organizational offensive" and outlined a programme of action for the near future. He admitted that there had been leftist excesses in economic management, which found expression in premature nationalization of small private enterprises, and urged re-examination of the attitude towards private capital and rectification of mistakes. A ration card system will be introduced to ensure uninterrupted supply of foodstuffs and other necessaries. The so-called people's shops, which failed to justify the hopes placed in them, are being turned over to co-operative societies and private businessmen. All these measures may be regarded as the introduction of a new economy policy.

Western propaganda and the South African press interpreted this as a departure from the revolutionary line and socialist orientation. But President Machel declared at a press conference that it was not a question of switching to another path of development, but of speeding up the demolition of the system inherited from colonialism, launching an offensive against bureaucratism, mismanagement and incompetence, and ousting reactionary elements from the state machinery. Refuting claims that there existed African, Asian and Latin American brands of socialism, the President stressed that there was but one Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory by whose basic principles Frelimo would continue to be guided * * *.

Strengthening its ties of friendship and co-operation with the socialist community, Mozambique has concluded a series of agreements with the German Democratic Republic, Cuba and other socialist countries. Soviet-Mozambican relations are developing successfully under the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, signed in March 1977. The Soviet Union is helping Mozambique to train specialists and solve its public health and education problems. An agreement has been concluded on delivery to Mozambique of lorries, cars, tractors and farm machines.

Ties between the CPSU and Frelimo are expanding. The CPSU Central Committee has presented FRELIMO with ten vans equipped to serve as mobile community centers which are of much help in propaganda work among the masses. Most of the books in the National Party School on problems of scientific socialism, political economy, international revolutionary movement and other subjects are Portuguese-language works published in the Soviet Union.

The five years of Mozambique's independent development have been years of important progressive transformations laying the foundation for a society of social justice. Overcoming the difficulties on its way, this African country is building a new life and looks confidently ahead.

In Angola, which borders on Namibia, between 15,000 and 20,000 Cuban combat troops keep the MPLA government in power despite a continuing civil war waged by the UNITA movement led by Jonas Savimbi L. Skuratov,[20] writing in the Soviet weekly journal "New Times," reported as follows on the Congress of the MPLA workers Party in 1980:

> The first (special) congress of the MPLA Workers Party ended in Luanda on December 23. It took place three years after the first congress of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). The period between the two forums has seen signal changes in the political, social and economic life of the country.
>
> The main change in the political field has been the democratization of government. The building of genuinely democratic bodies of government was proclaimed one of the goals of the liberation struggle. Elections to the people's assemblies in the provinces and then to the People's Assembly (Parliament) of Angola were held this year.
>
> In the social and economic fields mention should be made primarily of the establishment of state control over the key branches of the economy. This led to the creation of the public sector, now predominant in industry.
>
> All these charges have been effected under the leadership of the MPLA Workers Party, the revolutionary vanguard of the Angolan people. Founded in 1977 on the basis of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, which had led the people's armed struggle against colonial rule, this Party ensures sound guidance of the revolutionary process. The continuity of the revolutionary traditions is confirmed by the fact that 48 percent of the congress delegates were veterans of the armed and underground struggle against the Portuguese colonialists * * *.
>
> Drawing on the experience of the past three years, the congress adopted a realistic five-year plan of economic and social development aimed at raising living standards and achieving two important political tasks: to consolidate the economic independence of Angola and to make its advance towards socialism irreversible.
>
> The foreign policy of Angola, which actively works for peace and detente, against imperialism and racism, and for the complete liberation of Africa from foreign domination, has won worldwide recognition. Eduardo dos Santos pointed out in his report that Angola would continue to fight jointly with the socialist community for peace, independence, justice and social progress.
>
> The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the MPLA Workers Party, the peoples of the two countries, have long been bound by ties of fraternal solidarity and friendship. In its message to the first (special) congress, the CPSU Central Committee noted the extensive and constructive work being done by the MPLA Workers Party and its Central Committee to consolidate the revolutionary gains and fulfill the program for laying the foundations of socialism in Angola.

It is, of course, in Angola that SWAPO's military wing, PLAN [Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia] is concentrated in greatest force. Mr. Hashiko has testified to the fact that PLAN cadres are integrated into FAPLA [MPLA military] units in the struggles against UNITA. PLAN's terrorist operations in Namibia are also launched from bases inside Angola.

Mr. Kozonguizi has testified about the gruesome effect of SWAPO terrorism on the civilian population in northern Namibia. On the basis of their own experiences, both Mr. Namolo and Mr. Hashiko have testified about incidents such as the execution of a headman and the abduction by force of high school students by SWAPO cadres. Documents made available to the subcommittee confirm that such incidents are routine.

In 1981, for example, 64 Namibian civilians were killed and 150 more were injured in explosions following on the detonation of landmines laid by SWAPO forces. PLAN cadres killed 94 civilians, includ-

[20] "Orientation on Socialism," L. Skuratov, "New Times," 52–80.

ing 11 local chiefs, a member of the Ovambo legislative assembly and 4 deputy chiefs. Four chiefs, their wives and a school principal, were abducted and 58 incidents of sabotage involving damage to telephone lines, pipelines, bridges and water ditches, were reported. One set of documents submitted to the subcommittee by Mr. Kozonguizi suggests strongly that the president of SWAPO, Mr. Nujoma, telephoned from New York on August 8, 1977, to the SWAPO office in Luanda, Angola, and gave instructions that a group of Namibian politicians visiting northern Namibia should be murdered by SWAPO terrorists. Two of this group were in fact murdered shortly thereafter and the subcommittee is in possession of documents drawn up by PLAN commanders reporting on the successful execution of their missions and a message of congratulations to PLAN cadres from Dimo Hamaambo, the Commander of PLAN. As these documents suggest a conspiracy to murder initiated in New York, they have been handed over to the Attorney General of the United States.

The ANC has not yet undertaken terrorist activity on this scale, and most incidents of sabotage have been directed at installations rather than at persons. Mr. Mfalapitsa has testified, however, about plans to assassinate President Mangope of Bophuthatswana, the Tswana homeland in southern Africa. He also testified that Joe Modise, the chief of Umkhonto We Sizwe, proposed a second phase of sabotage in which mines would be laid on farm roads near the Botswana border, presumably with the same horrifying consequences we have seen in Namibia. Farmhouses, single vehicles, and small police stations would be also attacked. Umkhonto We Sizwe has already claimed credit for bombing an urban shopping center and automobile showrooms, and for attacks on small police stations manned by South African blacks.

Many of the witnesses who testified before the subcommittee fear for their lives because of their "defection" from the ANC or SWAPO, and because of their testimony before the subcommittee. On the basis of the evidence presented, those fears seem justified: His former colleagues attempted to kill Mr. Bosigo when he left ANC; a death notice bearing Mr. Mfalapitsa's name and photograph has been circulated by the ANC; Miss Kave has testified to witnessing brutal murders of dissidents; Mr. Mfalapitsa participated in one disciplinary killing and was present at a meeting where another was planned; Mr. Hashiko was told that one could only resign from SWAPO "* * * in a military way," that is, by being killed. As those who have knowledge and experience of other, similar movements know, the justice meted out is often summary and violent.

The witnesses who appeared before the subcommittee were protected while in Washington by the dedicated personnel of the U.S. Marshal Service. The subcommittee wishes to record its appreciation of the outstanding services of the U.S. Marshal Service and of the U.S. Capitol Police during this series of hearings.

Conclusions

The purpose of these hearings was not to debate U.S. policy toward southern Africa. This subcommittee is not a part of the Committee on Foreign Relations and has no mandate in that regard. Our purpose has been to determine, through the testimony of witnesses and the

evaluation of documents, the extent to which the Soviet Union has successfully influenced, penetrated, or come to control the African National Congress, the South West African Peoples Organization, and other national liberation movements in southern Africa, such as FRELIMO. Our purpose has been to examine more closely the Soviet ties with terrorism in southern Africa.

The evidence received by the subcommittee is deeply disturbing. It suggests strongly that the original purposes of the ANC and SWAPO have been subverted, and that the Soviets and their allies have achieved alarmingly effective control over them. The demonstrated activities of these organizations, moreover, cannot easily be reconciled with the goal of liberation or the promotion of freedom. The evidence has thus served to illustate once again the Soviet Union's support for terrorism under the guise of aiding struggles for national liberation. It is past time to bring these facts to the attention of our policymakers, the American people, and the world at large.

In his testimony, Assistant Secretary Chester Crocker said that the Department of State would pay close attention to the information which the subcommittee developed during these hearings. We appreciate that commitment and recommend that the other executive departments and congressional committees responsible for the formulation and oversight of our foreign policy both in this important region and elsewhere should join the State Department to study carefully the record of these hearings (two volumes) and this report.

During 1980, after the fall of the Shah of Iran, Dr. Henry Kissinger made the following remarks in a speech delivered in Washington:

> It is true that American foreign policy must be grounded in the humane values of our people and of our democratic traditions. We would neither be effective nor faithful to ourselves if we sought to defend every *status quo* in an age of upheavals * * * (but) * * * Iran should teach us that humane values are not necessarily served by the overthrow of conservative regimes. If we encourage upheavals without putting in their place a moderate democratic alternative, a foreign policy conducted in the name of justice and human rights, could wind up by making the world safe for anti-American radicalism.

Those in our society who, blinded by the success of the Soviet Union and its Communist allies in appropriating and distorting the language of liberty, have misguidedly embraced these Soviet-sponsored terrorist organizations, SWAPO and the ANC, have a particular need to study this report and to reflect on Dr. Kissinger's advice. The findings of the subcommittee appear particularly relevant at a time when SWAPO and the ANC are being tauted as the sole legitimate political forces and representatives of the people in Namibia and South Africa, respectively. Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua, and Iran are glaring and tragic reminders of our failure to fully comprehend and appreciate the motives, ideologies and interrelationships of those who sought political power under the guise of national liberation. These situations also serve as graphic examples of the terrible price which others have paid for our previous mistakes.

The subcommittee, mindful of its own responsibilities in this regard, intends to conduct an investigation of the support apparatus established in the United States to provide assistance to these, and other, terrorist organizations which act internationally in opposition to U.S. national security interests, and to explore means of curtailing such support.

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